

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 188378 TOSEC 080256
ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

66011

DRAFTED BY:S/S-O:JTHYDEN

APPROVED BY:S/S-O:JTHYDEN

-----070249 101329Z /42

O 101235Z AUG 77 ZFF4

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 188378 TOSEC 080256

NODIS

WHITE HOUSE FOR BRZEZINSKI ONLY

FOLLOWING REPEAT ALEXANDRIA 0837 TOSEC STAE AUG 10

QUOTE E C R E T ALEXANDRIA 0837

NODIS

DEPT PASS SECRETARY

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS)

SUBJECT: FAHMY'S COMMENTS ON REPORT OF SECRETARY'S TALKS IN
SAUDI ARABIA

REF: SECTO 08102

FROM AMBASSADOR IN ALEXANDRIA

SUMMARY: GAVE FAHMY REPORT OF YOUR TALKS IN TAIF WHICH
HE AT ONCE FORWARDED TO SADAT. PREDICTABLY, FAHMY VOICED
CONCERN ABOUT OUR CONTINUED SUPPORT FOR UNIFIED ARAB

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 188378 TOSEC 080256

DELEGATION AND FAHD'S APPARENT ACQUIESCENCE IN CONCEPT.
IN ADDITION FAMILIAR EGYPTIAN ARGUMENTS AGAINST CONCEPT,
HE ARGUED THERE WOULD NEVER HAVE BEEN SINAI I OR II IF
SYRIANS HAD BEEN PRESENT. SPEAKING HYPOTHETICALLY,
FAHMY THEN RAISED QUESTION HOW GOE CAN GUARANTEE TO PLO
LEADERSHIP THAT USG WILL SIT WITH THEM PUBLICLY IF PLO
ACCEPTS UN RESOLUTION 242? OTHER PERTINENT QUESTIONS

ARE WHEN SUCH MEETING WILL TAKE PLACE, WHERE, AND AT WHAT LEVEL? EGYPTIANS AWAITING ARAFAT, WHO IS EXPECTED ASK THESE QUESTIONS. WHILE AWARE YOUR STATEMENTS THAT TALKS WOULD BE OPEN, FAHMY WAS CONCERNED THAT USG MIGHT HAVE TO RENEGE BECAUSE OF DOMESTIC PRESSURES. ANY SUCH ACTION WOULD MAKE IT VERY DIFFICULT FOR SADAT AND FOR HIM. HE RAISED POSSIBILITY OF PERSONAL LETTER FROM PRESIDENT CARTER TO PRESIDENT SADAT ON THE MATTER. FAHMY NEXT ALLUDED TO PRESIDENT CARTER'S PRESS CONFERENCE STATEMENTS RE POSSIBILITY PLO ACCEPTING RESOLUTION 242 AND EXPRESSED PUZZLEMENT WHY SUCH ANNOUNCEMENT HAD BEEN MADE NOW BEFORE ISSUE RESOLVED. HE WONDERED WHETHER PRESIDENT CARTER HAS MORE INFORMATION ON PLO POSITION, PERHAPS THROUGH SAUDIS, THAN GOE HAS OR, ALONG MORE CONSPIRATORIAL LINES, WHETHER PRESIDENT CARTER HAD BEEN ADVISED TO MAKE SUCH ANNOUNCEMENT AT THIS TIME SO THAT IT WOULD FORCE PLO REJECT IDEA AND THEREBY SHIFT BLAME TO PLO LEADERSHIP FOR FAILURE. I REJECTED ANY SUCH SUGGESTION. FINALLY, FAHMY ARGUED THAT ONCE USG BEGINS TO TALK TO PLO, THIS IS DE FACTO RECOGNITION FROM WHICH SHOULD FLOW USG SUPPORT FOR INDEPENDENT PLO REPRESENTATION AT GENEVA. FAHMY LIKELY RAISE ALL THESE POINTS WITH YOU DURING UPCOMING VISIT. END SUMMARY.

1. MET WITH FAHMY LAST EVENING TO GIVE HIM ACCOUNT OF YOUR TALKS IN TAIF (REFTEL). HE WENT THROUGH IT CARE-
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 188378 TOSEC 080256

FULLY AND AT ONCE ASKED AN AIDE TO TRANSLATE IT INTO ARABIC AND SEND IT ON TO PRESIDENT SADAT.

2. UNIFIED ARAB DELEGATION: PREDICTABLY, FAHMY EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT OUR CONTINUED SUPPORT FOR UNIFIED ARAB DELEGATION CONCEPT, TO INCLUDE THE PALESTINIANS, AND THAT FAHD SEEMED TO BE GOING ALONG WITH THIS CONCEPT. FAHMY NOTED SADAT WILL BE DISTURBED ABOUT THIS AND REPEATED FAMILIAR GOE ARGUMENTS AGAINST THE CONCEPT. FAHMY WAS SOMEWHAT RUEFUL THAT SADAT AND HE HAD BEEN UNABLE TO PERSUADE YOU THAT A UNIFIED ARAB DELEGATION WILL HINDER RATHER THAN FURTHER THE ME PEACE EFFORT. IT WOULD ALLOW SYRIANS TO RESTRICT EGYPTIANS MANEUVERABILITY. I POINTED OUT THAT THIS IS NOT NECESSARILY THE CASE. ACTUAL NEGOTIATIONS WILL PRESUMABLY BE CONDUCTED IN COMMITTEES, WHERE EGYPTIAN FLEXIBILITY COULD BE EXERCISED. FAHMY CONTENTED THIS WILL NOT BE THE CASE WITH UNIFIED ARAB DELEGATION. "YOU DO NOT KNOW THE SYRIANS," HE ARGUED. THEY WILL INSIST UPON FUNCTIONAL COMMITTEES WITH A SYRIAN MEMBER ON EACH. ROLE OF THAT MEMBER WILL BE TO KEEP EGYPTIANS FROM MOVING OUT AHEAD. WE WOULD NEVER HAVE HAD SINAI I OR II, HE

ARGUED, IF SYRIANS HAD BEEN PRESENT. HE WAS CLEARLY VERY CONCERNED ABOUT CONCEPT, AND I SUSPECT BOTH SADAT AND HE WILL AGAIN RAISE IT WITH YOU DURING YOUR VISIT.

3. NATURE AND LEVEL OF POSSIBLE USG/PLO TALKS: FAHMY THEN SAID HE WISHED TO SPEAK ABOUT ANOTHER PROJECT, NAMELY, THE PALESTINIANS. GOE, HE NOTED, IS WAITING FOR ARAFAT TO ARRIVE. SUPPOSE, HE ASKED HYPOTHETICALLY, THAT PLO ACCEPTS FORMULA RE UN RESOLUTION 242, HOW CAN GOE GUARANTEE TO PLO THAT THE USG WILL SIT WITH THEM PUBLICLY. MOREOVER, THERE ARE QUESTIONS OF WHEN SUCH MEETINGS WILL TAKE PLACE, WHERE AND AT WHAT LEVEL. IT TURNED OUT THAT HE HAD EARLIER IN THE DAY BEEN VISITED BY PLO EXCOM MEMBER
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 188378 TOSEC 080256

DAJANI, WHO--ACCORDING FAHMY--OPINED THAT ARAFAT WILL GO ALONG WITH OUR REFORMULATION. DAJANI APPARENTLY ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT ARAFAT WILL WANT TO HAVE ANSWERS TO ABOVE QUESTIONS AND ESPECIALLY AT WHAT LEVEL SUCH TALKS MIGHT TAKE PLACE. FAHMY STRESSED THAT IF PLO ACCEPTS REFORMULATION AND IF THEREAFTER FOR REASONS OF DOMESTIC PRESSURES OR OTHERWISE USG DOES NOT MEET PUBLICLY WITH PLO, IT WILL MAKE SADAT'S AND HIS POSITION VERY DIFFICULT. IT IS THE GOE AND SAUDIS WHO ARE URGING PLO TO ACCEPT REFORMULATION. SYRIANS HAVE ALREADY TOLD PLO THEY HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH REFORMULATION IDEA.

4. I REMINDED FAHMY THAT YOUR EARLIER MESSAGE ON THE REFORMULATION HAD INDICATED OPEN TALKS. MOREOVER, AS HE HAS HIMSELF TOLD ME, YOU HAD ASSURED SADAT AND HIM THAT ANY SUCH TALKS WOULD BE OPEN. IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES, I THOUGHT HE SHOULD TAKE OUR WORD ON THIS MATTER. FAHMY SAID HE DID NOT DOUBT OUR GOOD FAITH, BUT WAS AWARE OF US DOMESTIC PRESSURES WHERE THE PLO IS CONCERNED. HE RECALLED USG HAD ONCE BEFORE, IN EARLY DECEMBER 1973, RENEGED ON A COMMITMENT CONCERNING PALESTINIAN PARTICIPATION AT GENEVA. THIS HAD CAUSED GOE CONSIDERABLE EMBARRASSMENT WITH SYRIANS AND PLO LEADERSHIP, WHICH THE GOE IS NOT ANXIOUS TO REPEAT. YOUR EARLIER MESSAGE HAD INDICATED THAT THE ISSUE IS A CONTROVERSIAL ONE IN THE US, HENCE GOE MUST TREAD WARILY. HE WONDERED ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF A PERSONAL LETTER FROM PRESIDENT CARTER TO PRESIDENT SADAT, WHICH WOULD GIVE ASSURANCES THAT TALKS WITH THE PLO WILL BE OPEN AND INDICATE TIMING AND PROPOSED LEVEL. I POINTED OUT THAT FOR THE MOMENT THE QUESTION IS STILL HYPOTHETICAL, HENCE HE COULD HARDLY EXPECT AN ANSWER. HERE AGAIN, I SUSPECT, THAT EITHER SADAT OR HE WILL RAISE THE MATTER WITH YOU.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 188378 TOSEC 080256

6. PRESIDENT CARTER'S PRESS CONFERENCE: FAHMY THEN ALLUDED TO PRESIDENT CARTER'S PRESS CONFERENCE IN WHICH THE PRESIDENT HAD SPOKEN OF POSSIBILITY THAT PLO MIGHT ACCEPT RESOLUTION 242. FAHMY EXPRESSED PUZZLEMENT THAT SUCH A PUBLIC STATEMENT HAD BEEN MADE AT THIS PARTICULAR TIME, BEFORE THE ISSUE IS RESOLVED. IT SEEMED TO SUGGEST THAT PRESIDENT CARTER IS "DEAD SURE" ON THIS POINT. IT MADE HIM WONDER WHETHER PRESIDENT CARTER HAS MORE INFORMATION ON THE PLO POSITION THAN GOE HAS. PERHAPS WE HAVE ALREADY RECEIVED WORD, EITHER THROUGH THE SAUDIS OR SOMEONE ELSE, THAT THE PLO HAS ACCEPTED THE REFORMULATION AND THEREFORE SAW FIT TO ANNOUNCE IT. FAHMY ALSO HARBORED A MORE CONSPIRATORIAL THOUGHT. PERHAPS ONE OF THE PRESIDENT'S "ADVISORS" HAD RECOMMENDED THAT SUCH AN ANNOUNCEMENT BE MADE NOW IN THE BELIEF THAT WILL FORCE THE PLO TO REJECT THE IDEA, WHICH WOULD THEREAFTER ALLOW THE BLAME TO BE SHIFTED TO PLO LEADERSHIP FOR SCUTTILING THE EFFORT.

7. I POINTED OUT TO HIM THAT PRESIDENT CARTER'S LANGUAGE HAD BEEN CAREFULLY GUARDED AND THAT HE HAD NOT MADE ANY DEFINITIVE STATEMENT THAT THE PLO HAS ACCEPTED THE REFORMULATION. INSTEAD, PRESIDENT CARTER HAD SIMPLY EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE PLO MIGHT DO SO IN ORDER TO ENABLE US TO BEGIN A DIALOGUE WITH THE PLO, WHICH MIGHT IN TURN OPEN AN AVENUE FOR PALESTINIAN PARTICIPATION AT GENEVA. I REJECTED FAHMY'S THEORY THAT PRESS CONFERENCE STATEMENT HAD ANY CONSPIRATORIAL PURPOSE, SUCH AS PREMATURELY ABORTING THE EFFORT. I TOLD HIM WE HAVE THE RIGHT TO EXPECT A LITTLE MORE CONFIDENCE FROM HIM THAN HIS COMMENTS WOULD SUGGEST. FAHMY SAID HE HAD FULL CONFIDENCE IN US, BUT WHEN IT COMES TO USG AND THE PLO, EXPERIENCE HAS MADE HIM SUSPICIOUS.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 06 STATE 188378 TOSEC 080256

8. FINALLY, FAHMY ARGUED THAT, ONCE PRESIDENT CARTER AGREES TO TALKS WITH THE PLO, HE IS IN EFFECT GIVING DE FACTO RECOGNITION TO THE ORGANIZATION. IN THAT CASE, THERE SHOULD BE NO REASON WHY IT SHOULD NOT BE INDEPENDENTLY REPRESENTED AT GENEVA. IF BOTH CO-CHAIRMEN AND MOST OF THE PARTIES AGREE, THIS SHOULD BE ADEQUATE. HE RECOGNIZED ISRAEL WOULD NOT AGREE, BUT ISRAEL SHOULD

BE PUT IN A POSITION WHERE IT IS ISOLATED IN ORDER TO
BRING IT AROUND. I REMINDED HIM THAT ON THAT POINT,
YOU HAD MADE CLEAR TO THE SAUDIS THAT WE COULD NOT
GUARANTEE THE OUTCOME OF THE NEGOTIATIONS RE THE
NATURE OF A PALESTINIAN HOMELAND AND THAT THE FORM
OF PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION AT GENEVA WAS NOT SOLELY
FOR US TO DETERMINE. IT HAD TO BE AGREED TO BY ALL THE
PARTIES, INCLUDING ISRAEL. FAHMY WAS CLEARLY STILL
WORRIED ABOUT UNIFIED ARAB DELEGATION IDEA AND ARGUED THAT
USG, ONCE TALKS WITH PLO BEGUN, SHOULD LOGICALLY ACCEPT
INDEPENDENT PLO DELEGATION. HE WILL DOUBTLESS RAISE POINT
WITH YOU ON UPCOMING VISIT. CHASE
UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PALESTINIANS, RECOGNITION, UNGA RESOLUTIONS, CAT-C
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 10-Aug-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977STATE188378
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: O.JTHYDEN
Enclosure: FOR BRZEZINSKI ONLY
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: N770004-0720
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 2
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770876/aaaacmew.tel
Line Count: 237
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: fab8305d-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: NODIS, ONLY
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS, ONLY
Reference: 77 SECTO 8102
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 31-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1644651
Secure: LOCK1
Status: NATIVE
Subject: FAHMY'S COMMENTS ON REPORT OF SECRETARY'S TALKS IN SAUDI ARABIA
TAGS: OVIP, PDEV, PBOR, XF, EG, PLO, (VANCE, CYRUS R), (FAHMI, ISMAIL)
To: SECRETARY WHITE HOUSE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/fab8305d-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009